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121 to reservation research and will be a unique test of generalizations formerly based on a synchronic sample.

166 [125] 369 I found that 26 (38 per cent) of the rural households changed location from 1966 to 1970. This is an average of nine and one-half per cent of all households changing location each year which, compared with the national figure of twenty per cent represents a fairly stable residence pattern. Some families apparently moved away for several years, others moved away for one year or less and returned. Many moved from one to another location either within Heart Butte proper or within the rural reservation districts in general. The moves are complicated. A map depicting shifts in residence location would be so coursed with 128 lines of movement one would find it unreadable. I will therefore explain the movements in the light of economic and other but less critical motives for movement.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize (1) frequencies of household and family types in 1966, (2) the same cases residing in rural districts in 1970, and (3) all cases in the rural districts I knew about in 1970. These will be referred to specially after I discuss shifts in residence patterns.

166 During the period 1966 to 1970 seventeen households (nineteen families or remnant families)[1] moved out of the rural district. Thirteen moved to Browning, and so far as I was able to determine, they will remain there for a long while. Of the other six, one moved to Great

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

[592]

[1]Henceforth the term "family" when referring to the samples studied here, will be used to cover "family" and "family remnants."

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Table 1

THREE-HOUSEHOLD SAMPLES, RURAL 1966, RURAL 1970 (APPLIES ONLY TO THE 1966 RURAL CASES), AND ALL RURAL HOUSEHOLDS SAMPLED IN 1970

Household Type	1966		1970		1970 (All cases)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Independent Nuclear	39	57	35	66	38	63
Extended	14	20	6	11	7	12
Grandparent-Grandchild	7	10	2	4	2	3
Conjugal Pair	5	7	6	11	8	13
Single Person	2	4	4	8	5	9
Joint	1	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	68	100	53	100	60	100

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Table 2

THREE FAMILY SAMPLES, RURAL 1966, RURAL 1970 (APPLIES ONLY TO THE 1966 RURAL CASES), AND ALL RURAL FAMILIES SAMPLED IN 1970

Family Type	1966		1970		1970 (All cases)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Independent Nuclear	39	47	35	60	38	57
Head Family*	14	17	6	10	7	10
Dependent Nuclear*	14	17	6	10	7	10
Grandparent-Grandchild	7	9	2	3	2	3
Conjugal Pair	5	6	6	10	8	13
Single Person	2	2	4	7	5	8
Joint*	2	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	83	100	59	100	67	100

*Indicates families occupying multiple-family households. These families comprise 36 per cent of all families in the 1966 sample, 20 per cent in the 1970 sample, and 20 per cent of all 1970 families samples in the rural area.

Falls, one to Kalispell, Montanta, two to Glasgow, Montana (one via Dallas, Texas), and one to Minnesota.

Ten of the nineteen families are independent nuclear, three grandparent-grandchild, two head families and two dependent nuclear, one conjugal pair, and one single person non-family.

I learned that seven new households were established in and near Heart Butte (representing ten families). Thus there is a net loss of eight households in the sampled area, or twelve per cent. Among the newcomers to come into Heart Butte proper, four came from Browning and three from other rural areas outside of Heart Butte (Birch Creek, Badger Creek). The general population shift is from less populated to more populated areas. Of the 26 households in my total rural sample that changed residence location, thirteen moved to Browning, five moved from one to another location within Heart Butte proper, five to towns near the reservation (Kalispell and Glasgow, Montana), two from outlying rural areas into Heart Butte, and one shifted from Heart Butte to Cut Bank, Montana, and back to Heart Butte.

Generally movements are from less to more populated regions, although there are some reverse shifts as I have mentioned. I also note that only one family moved out of Montana permanently. All others remain fairly close to the reservation and they plan to return for the annual Indian Days celebration and more importantly to visit kin and friends who remain on the reservation. Those who move to more populated areas are motivated chiefly by a desire to secure employment, but some move to be near kin or non-kin for economic aid or to be near schools

where their children or grandchildren are enrolled. An additional factor is a desire to overcome logistics problems such as the hardships of transportation, obtaining water and fuel for residences and access to service facilities. For instance, many elders lament the fact that they must leave their isolated homesites, where most of them were raised and to which they are so attached. Yet these elders, most of whom depend on welfare or lease incomes, can no longer manage a distant residence mainly because of logistics and lack of private vehicles. Thirty-two per cent of the rural inhabitants own no personal vehicles and elders are heavily represented among non-owners.

If this trend continues one can expect Browning and Heart Butte proper (in that order) to become more and more crowded and the outlying rural areas less populated. There are fewer and fewer enticements for living in the distant rural areas. In the past the lure of employment in Browning and off-reservation towns was not as strong as at present. Small ranching operations, although largely unprofitable, were sufficient to offer some hope and rewards, but these inducements have dropped out of the economic realm for the most part. Movements, especially among the young, are to locations where there is some promise of securing wage-earning jobs. But the trend is not nearly so marked as it is at Augusta because young Augustans can find a place in the larger society, feel at home in their new settings, can often attend college, find secure employment for the most part, and need not fear racial antagonism.

Despite the several motives given below for family relocation,

sections of the town on a broadly proportionate basis. The types and frequencies are shown in Table 18.

Two hundred and twelve persons occupy the 39 households. The age distribution of these persons is presented in the following table (Table 19) where broad age intervals of 0-21, 22-64, and 65 plus are used for demographic comparison with previously analyzed samples. The trend line and percentages of persons in the three age intervals compares closely with the figures from the present rural districts (see Chapter III).

The median number of persons per household is 4.7; for multiple-family households the figure is 7.5 and the median for independent nuclear family households is 6.5. In comparison with the 1966 rural sample these median figures show some contrasts. There are fewer persons per household in the Browning sample (4.7 against 5.8), fewer persons per nuclear family household (6.5 against 7.4) and more persons per multiple-family household (7.5 against 7.3). Table 20 compares the percentages of household types in the Browning and rural samples.

The rural sample clearly shows a statistically significant difference at the .05 level in the percentage of multiple-family households (21 per cent against 5 per cent) although other types of households occur in rather comparable percentages, as Table 20 shows. In all I gathered household composition data for 88 households, which includes the 39 cases in the preceding tables that were interviewed in considerable detail; of the 89, five are multiple-family--all are extended, dual-family households--which amount to only about 6 per cent

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Table 18

THIRTY-NINE BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPES,
1967, 1968 AND 1970

Household Type	Frequency
Independent Nuclear	26
Grandparent-Grandchild	5
Conjugal Pair	5
Extended Family*	2
Single Person	1
Total	39

*Two families reside in each of the extended family households.

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Table 20

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES, 68 RURAL HOUSEHOLDS AND 39 BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

Household Type	Browning (Frequencies)	Rural (Frequencies)	Percentage of Total Households	
			(Browning)	(Rural)
Independent Nuclear	26	39	67	58
Grandparent-Grandchild	5	7	13	10
Extended	2	14	5	21
Conjugal Pair	5	5	13	7
Single Person	1	2	2	3
Joint	-	1	-	1
Totals	39	68	100	100

592 of the total. I will discuss this larger sample in more detail momen-
594 tarily.
596 The Browning household pattern contrasts significantly in the
128 occurrence of multiple-family households. I will show that though
369 fewer families in my Browning sample cluster under a single roof, there
592 is considerable inter-household economic cooperation where such coopera-
594 tion is possible. A family in Browning can better manage a single
369 dwelling in some respects, as compared with the rural setting. Trans-
128 portation, for example, is not as much of a problem to those in Browning
[594] since one can easily walk to his job, grocery stores, etc., whereas in
the rural districts transportation assistance is often required when a
family alone cannot afford the convenience of a private vehicle.
592 Secondly, and more importantly, ADC-recipient matrifocal household
667 heads receive more assistance in Browning in securing quarters through
369 the welfare offices. Another factor is the relative scarcity of avail-
362 able low income kin with whom some of the low and unstable income
[602] families in Browning can join under one roof. The kinship network in
602 the rural districts is more tightly knit, with more frequent economic
369 interchanges between closely related families.

Browning is more urbanized in the sense that atomization and isolation of kin units occur with greater frequency. This is relative, however, because in Browning one finds a good deal of mutual, kin-based aid, as I will discuss below.

124 While in Browning I secured additional household composition data
127 from random sources so as to obtain a larger sample than the 39 household

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Table 22

INCOME BY TYPE AND PERCENTAGE, 68 RURAL AND 39 BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	Rural Households (Percentage of Total Income)	Browning Households (Percentage of Total Income)
Earnings	50	75
Welfare	30	18
Leased Land	20	7
Totals	100 %	100 %

The Browning Family Cycle

128 The Browning family cycle, like previous samples, is derived from synchronous data and once again I infer a cycle using age of heads for each family type. Correlation Ratio Diagrams IV and V test the relationship between age of family head and family type for the two Browning samples (the 41-family sample interviewed in detail and the total sample of 94 families).

592 128 369 Family type varies with age of family head 39 per cent in Correlation Ratio Diagram IV and Correlation Ratio Diagram V 27 per cent, both are comparable to the ratio of variation found in a similar test for the rural sample of 83 families taken in 1966. The variation is less between the rural sample (see Chapter III) and the total Browning sample of 94 families for which I collected data on composition and age as the following table (Table 28) indicates. The average variation for each family type between the total Browning sample and the rural sample is 2.14 years; the total variation (pluses and minuses) is fifteen years. This is considerably less than the difference between the rural and the 41-family Browning sample (total variation is 35.4 years, average mean difference for each type, 5.05 years) and between the total Browning sample and the sample of 41 (the total variation is 22.4 years: the average mean difference is 3.20 years). It must be kept in mind that the total Browning sample includes the 41 families, which certainly affects the total Browning sample figures. From these findings I conclude that the rural sample of 83 families is more similar to the total Browning sample and that these two samples may reflect a

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Table 28

THREE-SAMPLE COMPARISON OF MEAN AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 94 BROWNING FAMILIES, 41 BROWNING FAMILIES AND 83 RURAL BLACKFE T FAMILIES, 1966, 1967, 1968 AND 1970

Family Type	94 Browning Families (Mean Age of Heads)	41 Browning Families (Mean Age of Heads)	83 Rural Families (Mean Age of Heads)
Single Person	68.0	72.0	64.6
Grandparent-Grandchild	66.3	68.0	65.6
Head Family (Extended)	60.0	57.0	60.6
Conjugal Pair	49.7	43.0	58.0
Independent Nuclear	42.0	42.0	40.8
Dependent Nuclear	27.0	22.0	27.8

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rural-urban household dichotomy on the reservation.

Correlation Ratio Diagrams IV and V indicate that there are fewer multiple-family household in the Browning samples on a percentage basis than in the rural sample, although ages of family are similar for all types except conjugal pairs (they tend to be younger in Browning).

The Browning family cycle, like the rural family cycle, commences with a period of partial dependence (here I am referring to all 94 Browning families). Two of five families (conjugal pairs) are clustered with elders, or 40 per cent of all those in the age interval of 20-24 years; in the rural districts all of the families or non-families in this interval are dependent.

Dependencies among younger families continue up to the age of 34, as is found in the rural sample. The dependent families in the Browning sample account for sixteen per cent of all families in the 20-34 age interval, while in the rural sample 54 per cent of families are dependent in this age interval, a marked contrast.

Families whose heads are 35 to 64 years are overwhelmingly independent in Browning (47 of 55 are independent nuclear, two are head families in extended family households, and there are four conjugal pairs, two grandparent-grandchild households, and a single person household). Nine of 45 families in the rural sample are head families in this age interval (twenty per cent) which again points out the greater occurrence of dependencies in the rural district; 60 per cent are independent nuclear families in the rural district compared with 80 per cent among the 35 to 64 age interval families in Browning.

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Of the two extended family households in the 41-family sample, it is probable that only one will remain extended. This is the household headed by an elderly spouseless female with her son, his spouse and two offspring.

In the final stage (age interval, 65 plus years) of the Browning family cycle five of sixteen families are grandparent-grandchild, four are single person, three are head families, and there are two conjugal pairs and two independent nuclear families. Thus, ten of sixteen family heads are still involved in caring for dependents (young or adult offspring, grandchildren or foster children), or 63 per cent of the total; in the rural district sample 80 per cent of heads in this interval are still encumbered with dependents of various types.

The rural and Browning family cycles are very similar in stage-by-stage shifts in types through time; dependents for younger families are common up to 34 years of age, and the hosting of dependents occurs at about the same stage, though percentages of dependencies occur at a higher rate among rural families.

The final stage in both samples is extremely similar. In both, dependents are commonplace in the households headed by elders whose family and life cycle are approaching termination.

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Miscellaneous Dependents, Grandparent-Grandchild Households, and Matrifocal Families

The final portion of this chapter concerns only the 41-family sample. Two topics will be discussed briefly: the presence of miscellaneous dependents in the Browning households and the occurrence

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or out-of-wedlock sexual unions (roughly the same ordering as in the rural district sample).

The data concerning miscellaneous dependents in my Blackfeet samples, past and present, indicate strong affective ties and feelings of responsibility. There are no orphanages or old folks homes on the reservation, and I learned that only one elderly Blackfeet person stays in the old folks home in Cut Bank. The Blackfeet are extremely fond of children and the elderly; they make every effort to provide a home for the helpless even in the face of great economic adversity. Elders bring some money into the households where they reside from leases, welfare, or pensions, and the presence of children often qualifies a host household for ADC income, yet economic motives alone do not entirely account for the high incidence of affective ties and feeling of responsibility for the helpless. Economic motives, however, appear to be the critical considerations.

Thirty-one per cent of the rural households have miscellaneous dependents (a total of 33 persons). This is thirteen per cent higher than among the Browning households in the 39-household sample. The rural miscellaneous dependents are more diverse in their relationship to household heads than in the Browning households (see Chapter III). Again the rural households stand in comparison as having a greater incidence of multiple-family households and a higher per cent and diversity of miscellaneous dependents. These comparisons emphasize a possible rural-urban dichotomy, although further investigation is required to confirm or infirm this generalization.

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In Chapter III, I compared the formation and number of households and families headed by spouseless males and females in the 1921 and 1966 rural samples. Here I make a similar comparison between current Browning and rural samples. Table 30 lists all Browning households headed by spouseless females in the 41-family sample. No spouseless males headed any of the families or households in the sample. The nine Browning single-headed households comprise 22 per cent of the households; in the rural district 22 per cent are also single-headed. In the rural sample there is a higher per cent of elder spouseless persons heading households (only two are younger than 32) while in Browning there is a clustering of younger females (three age 27) and elders (five who are 61 and older) and there is one middle-age female head. As mentioned, all Browning single heads are females; in the rural sample nine heads are males and seven are females. In both samples the youngest single heads are females. These number five; all heads are 32 or younger; their households are truly matrifocal.

Broken unions account for the formation of eleven single-headed households in the rural sample. Five came about by the death of a spouse. Four of the Browning single-headed households came about through divorce and five from deaths of spouses. I cannot account for an apparent absence of single male heads in the Browning sample.*

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*I add here that Miss Margery Moore, an NIH trainee, sampled eighteen households in Browning; she found no patrifocal households and four matrifocal, a 22 per cent incidence of matrifocality, the same percentage I found. There was no duplication of cases in our samples.

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586 Broken unions among single household heads are not necessarily indicators of overall marital stabiltty. Among the rural adults who had been or were married at the time I contacted them, I found that for every divorce or permanent separation there are 4.4 marriages
586 (common law, civil, church marriages). This ratio of permanent separa-
171 tions or divorces reflects a reasonably stable marital pattern. By comparison with other populations, Lynd and his associates (Lynd 1956) found that in 1924 at "Middletown" there were 42 divorces per 100 marriages; there was more instability in Lynd's sample than the rural Blackfeet. At Middletown the divorce rate was 42 per cent while the rate among the rural Blackfeet is 22 per cent, a difference of 20 per cent. The divorce rate, to provide additional comparative data, in Los Angeles County, California, is about 50 per cent at present. I
58 realize these comparisons are not as meaningful as they should be. An additional factor is that marriage among the Blackfeet is generally regarded as a more or less permanent arrangement only if cohabitation lasts more than six months. More casual unions are rather frequent and are not included in the figures given here, nor are they regarded as marriages by participants so far as I was able to determine.

Conclusions

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511 Browning households, based on my findings, are only slightly more prosperous than the rural Heart Butte inhabitants. Median household
592 income is about $3,700 compared with $3,550 in the Heart Butte area.
369 Earned income accounts for a greater percentage of total household income
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592 and conversely, welfare and leased land income are also smaller in
369 percentages than in the rural area. However, I pointed out that seven
134 households of the 39 intervieved intensively receive almost 50 per cent of the earnings and these households have joint husband-wife earners. The earning in this small number of households strongly affect the percentage of earned income for the entire sample. The have-nots, that is, the majority of the lower or non-earning households, are far down the line in total income.

592 Multiple-family households occur in very sma-l percentages in
596 Browning; only five of 89 households canvassed for household composition
128 were multiple-family in form. This is only slightly above five per cent
369 compared with the 21 per cent in the rural area, a statistically signi-
592 ficant difference at the .05 level. However, Browning households with
511 incomes of less than $4,000 per annum are engaged in frequent kin-based
369 economic aid. These households form tiny kin neighborhoods where there
602 is frequent face-to-face contact and exchange of money, labor, and emotional support. About 45 per cent of the households in the intensively intervieved sample of 39 were involved in these mutual assistance groups. Those who earn $4,000 or over generally sever economic ties, at least much more so than do the lower income households. These families tend to live to themselves and to place their resources at the disposal of their individual families in a somewhat middle class style.

592 Browning and Heart Butte area demographies are similar. In each,
369 youngsters 21 or younger make up about 60 per cent of the samples, those
128 22 to 64 about 35 per cent, and elders 65 and over between 3 to 5 per

cent. The occurrence of miscellaneous kin and non-kin in Browning compares with the rural area in frequency. Fifteen per cent of the Browning households and 21 per cent of the rural households have these types of household members, not a statistically significant difference. In both areas there is a high percentage of youngsters in households other than those of their parents mainly because of illegitimacies, separations, divorces, and overcrowding in the natal homes. Furthermore, hosts, usually elder grandparents, receive ADC payments for their young dependents which permits greater acceptance of youngsters.

Matrifocality in Browning and the rural area is similar in occurrence, about twenty per cent. This household form, along with generally low incomes, places about half of the sampled Browning households in an underclass position.

The family cycles of Browning and rural families were found to be similar, excepting the far lesser occurrence of dependent families in Browning. A partial explanation for this difference is the greater availability of housing in Browning and greater accessibility of services and job location which obviates partially the need for families to cluster together.

563 178 suffered by the full bloods.

Along with observations about demography I pointed out and

592 178 analyzed a relative rise in the incidence of matrifocal and patrifocal households from 1921 to 1966 and that more and more of these result from marital separations. If these forms are part of a disorganization syndrome, as sociological studies imply, then they are another indication of worsening conditions.

472 241 The 1921 farming program largely failed, as was shown, principally because of poor capitalization. No farm was comparable in size to the 1920 average size of Mountain States farms. Most of the rural farmers could not compete with the increasing number of high-investment agricultural enterprises and declining prices after World War I.

369 592 The final chapter deals with a modest Browning sample of 39 households. Although the Browning family cycle is very similar to the rural family cycle, far fewer Browning households are multiple-family in composition. Available housing, the ease with which families can give and receive aid in a concentrated population likely curtail the incidence of multiple-family households. But cooperating kin units, forming small neighborhoods, are common and function much like the multiple-family households and land clusters in rural districts.

369 434 Median Browning household and family income are only slightly above the rural figures; per capita income is only about $150 more per year. Those in Browning who earn reasonable incomes are few in number

592 434 in my small sample. Seven households, all of which are independent, receive almost half the total income for the entire sample and in these

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434 households joint husband-wife earners are the rule. Overall income distribution in the Browning sample is similar to the rural distribution; earnings rank first, welfare second and leased land income third, although the proportions are somewhat better in Browning where 75 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the income is derived from earnings.

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369 In Browning, as in the rural past, full bloods have least access to resources (mainly jobs) and I again attempted an explanation. In-
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[182 come in the Browning sample is associated least with education and training and most strongly with duration of employment. Racial ancestry correlated significantly with income; those who are one-half or less Indian get the steady jobs with the best pay.

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429 Matrifocality in Browning and in the rural households occur at a rate of about twenty per cent. Young miscellaneous dependents outside the immediate nuclear family units occur at a very high rate in both Browning and the rural areas. These youngsters live with grandparents most often. They do so because they are oftentimes illegitimate children, or their parents are separated or because of overcrowding and insufficient funds in their natal home. Their presence in other households is often an economic asset to the hosting elders because ADC payments may be forthcoming. This exposure to a wide network of kin generates strong emotional attachments between youngsters and those who from time to time host them.

511 We have seen in this study how economically precarious the underclass position is. The existence of such a class on the reservation can more fully be described empirically using some of the data

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